

Message Text

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ACTION SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /011 W

----- 116094

P R 040955Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE PRIORITY

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S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 2912

EXDIS

FOR GENERAL BROWN

FOLLOWING MSG RECD ISLAMABAD 4 APR BEING RETRANSMITTED:

QUOTE:

S E C R E T STATE 076225

EXDIS FOR GENERAL BROWN

FOLLOWING REPEAT JAKARTA 3762 ACTION SECSTATE INFO SAIGON

TEHRAN DATED 31 MAR 75

QUOTE

S E C R E T JAKARTA 3762

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR MILI ID VS

SUBJ: INDONESIA AND ICCS

REF: A. STATE 071694 B. JAKARTA 3691 C. JAKARTA 3729

1. SUMMARY: IN MEETING MARCH 31, FONDEPT DIRGEN FOR
POLITICAL AFFAIRS DJAJADININGRAT CONFIRMED GOI, UNDER
PRESSURE FRM MILITARY, GIVING SERIOUS THOUGHT TO WITH-
DRAWING FROM ICCS IN VIEW CHANGING POLITCAL REALITIES

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IN AREA AND DOUBTS THAT GVN CAN WITHSTAND CURRENT COM-

MUNIST OFFENSIVE. DJAJADININGRAT, NOTING HE (AND IMPLIEDLY MALIK) CAN SEE RATIONALE FOR CONTINUING INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION, STATED PRECIPITOUS FINAL DECISION UNLIKELY, ADDING THAT US REACTION TO CRISIS, OUR ASSESSMENT OF GVN PROSPECTS, AND DEVELOPING SITUATION IN VIETNAM WILL ALL INFLUENCE GOI DECISION. END SKMMARY

2. IN MEETING EARLY MARCH 31, FONDEPT DIRGEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS DJAJADININGRAT, WHO HAD INVITED ME IN, OPENED BY STATING HE SURE I KNEW SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION, AND ASKED FOR US ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION IN VIETNAM. I REPLIED THAT, FROM MEETING WITH DEFENSE SECURITY CHIEF MAJGEN MURDANI(REF B), I KNEW GOI REVIEWING ENTIRE VIETNAM SITUATION, INCLUDING PARTICPATION IN ICCS, DRAWING FROM MEMORANDUM (WHICH I LEFT WITH DJAJADINGRAT)BASED ON POINTS MADE REF A, I OUTLINED IN SOME DETAIL REASONS US HOPES THAT INDONESIA WILL REMAIN IN ICCS. I PARTICULARLY STRESSED ADVERSE REACTION IN VIETNAM, US AND ELSEWHERE IF NON-COMMUNIST INDONESIA WERE TO DEAL SERIOUS BLOW TO PARIS ACCORDS AND URGED THAT INDONESIA RETIAN AT LEAST A NUCLEUS ICCS CONTINGENT IN SAIGON. I ALSO NOTED THAT, FROM ALL INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO ME, IT APPEARS NORTH VIETNAM NOT YET SEEKING TOTAL MILITARY VICTORY BUT RATHER HOPING TO INCREASE ITS BARGAINING POSITION IN NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THIS REASON INDONESIA'S WITHDRAWL WOULD BE DOUBLY UNFORTUNATE. LEGAL STRUCTURE FOR ANY RESUMPTION NEGOTIATIONS RAMINS PARIS AGREEMENTS IN ALL ASPECTS.

3. DJAJADININGRAT STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD VERY WELL ARGUMENTS I WAS MAKING AND THAT HE (AND IMPLIEDLY FONMIN MALIK) COULD SEE NEED FOR CONTINUING INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION IN ICCS. HOWEVER, THEY WERE FACED WITH COUNTERING FEELING ON PART OF INDNESIAN MILITARY THAT GVN UNABLE CONTAIN COMMUNIST MILITARY AGGRESSION (NOTE REF C) AND THAT US WITHDRAWING FROM SCENE. IN THIS CONNCTION HE ASKED SPECIFICALLY IF (A) US LIKELY TO SEND TROOPS TO VIETNAM; I REPLIED THIS IS FORBIDDEN BY LAW; (B) IF US LIKELY TO RESUME BOMBING; I REPLIED THIS UNLIKELY UNLESS PICTURES OF FLIGHT FROM DANANG WERE DRASTICALLY TO CHANGE

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US PUBLIC OPINION; AND (C) IF US LIKELY TO PROVIDE MORE MILITARY ASSISTANCE; I REPLIED ADMINISTATION IS SEEKING SUCH ASSISTANCE AND PROSPECTS NOT ENTIRELY UNFAVORABLE. DJADININGRAT NOTED THAT, IN OPINION OF INDONESIAN MILITARY, US MILITARY ASSISTANCE ALONE WILL NOT SUFFICE, ADDING THAT FONDEPT IS CONCERNED OVER REPORTS OF ARRESTS OF THIEU OPPONENTS AT TIME GVN SHOULD BE SEEKING WIDEST BACKING.

4. DJAJADININGRAT ASKED FOR OUR APPRAISAL OF SITUATION IN VIETNAM AND GVN PROSPECTS. I RELIED THAT WE HAD REQUESTED SUCH AN APPRAISAL AND WOULD PASS IT ON WHEN RECEIVED. DJADININGRAT STATED THAT GOI DECISION WOULD BE INFLUENCED BY THIS APPRAISAL, BY US REACTION TO SITUATION AS EVIDENCED BY INCREASED SUPPORT FOR GVN THROUGH MILITARY ASSISTANCE OR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES, AND BY DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM ITSELF.

5. I NOTED THAT WE HAD HEARD REPORTS GOI MIGHT MAKE DECISION BEFORE PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S TRIP TO AUSTRALIA APRIL 3. SINCE INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION IN ICCS HAD ORIGINATED IN DISCUSSION BETWEEN SUHARTO AND SECRETARY KISSINGER I WOULD HOPE THAT, BEFORE ANY FINAL DECISIONS WERE MADE, WE MIGHT HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW QUESTION WITH PRESIDENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, I NOTED THAT I WOULD BE ACCOMPANYING CHAIRMAN JOINT CHIEFS GENERAL BROWN ON HIS CALL ON SUHARTO (TENTATIVELY SET FOR APRIL 7). I ALSO URGED THAT INDONESIA WORK WITH IRAN ON "ICCS FUTURE INCLUDING ANY APPROACH TO SIGNATORY POWERS OF PARIS ACCORDS.

6. DJAJADINGRAT REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT FORESEE A PRECIPITOUS DECISION TO WITHDRAW. IN RESPONSE MY QUESTION ABOUT CONSULTATION WITH IRAN, DJADINGRAT NOTED HE HAD CALLED IN IRANIAN AMBASSADOR SHOKOUHIAN EARLIER IN MORNING BUT "THAT MAN" QUITE UNINFORMED ON ICCS MATTERS AND NEEDED TO REFER QUESTION TO TEHRAN.

7. COMMENT: PICTURE PAINTED BY DJAJADININGRAT VERY SIMILAR TO THAT RECEIVED DURING MARCH 29 MEETING WITH MURDANI (REF C) ALTHOUGH SUGGESTS DECISION LESS IMMINENT
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AND THAT FONDEPT IS APPARENTLY STILL ARGUING FOR CONTINUED INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION. IF SITUATION IN VIETNAM STABILIZES AND GVN ABLE TO DRAW LINES IT CAN DEFEND, THERE SOME CHANCE OF FONDEPT'S VOICE PREVAILING. HOWEVER, IF SITUATION DETERIORATES STEADILY, UPON HIS RETURN TO INDONESIA APRIL 5 SUHARTO WILL BE FACED WITH EVEN STRONGER VOICES URGING HE PULL OUT OF ICCS FOR MILITARY AND POLITICAL REASONS.

8. OPPORTUNITY PROBABLY STILL EXISTS FOR FURTHER ARGUMENTATION IF DEPARTMENT WISHES MAKE SUGGESTIONS. ASSUME DEPARTMENT WILL INSURE GENERAL BROWN BRIEFED FULLY ON THIS SITUATION. NEWSOM
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